HUMAN EVENTS

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GOP Vice Presidency: The GOP convention opening on July 26 in Chicago promises to become a lively spot, if Nixon adheres to his present plan to leave the Vice-Presidential race "open" (and not dictated by himself or party leadership). Old-timers speculate that such a convention scene might release much pent-up sentiment in the party and equal the astonishing spontaneous nomination of Calvin Coolidge in 1920, which resulted from an uprising in Cal's favor by the bulk of the delegates on the floor.

According to all reports, Nixon feels that neither "ideology" (including religion under this heading) nor "geography" should be decisive factors in making the choice. This reduces the chances of Secretary of Labor Mitchell (a Catholic)—main reason for the latter's boomlet has been to give the ticket a religious "balance." As for geography as a standard—a ticket that does not balance California with a man from New York, or some Midwestern state, may loom as something of an innovation. Actually, it is not so much so as commonly believed.

The record shows that McKinley (Ohio) did not go far for his running-mate in 1900; *he went to nearby New York (only* 100 *miles away on Lake Erie), taking young Theodore Roosevelt of that state. In* 1908, *Presidential nominee William Howard Taft of Ohio had John Sherman of New York as No.* 2 *on the ticket. As for the Democrats, in* 1948 *Harry S. Truman of Missouri had Senator Alben Barkley of Kentucky (across the Mississippi from Missouri) as his Vice-Presidential candidate. The team won a sensational victory. Hence, a ticket with men from states in close proximity is sanctified by precedent and success.*

This historical fact may clear the thinking of many among the cadres of the party. Conscious that three times since 1900 have V.P.'s succeeded Presidents who have died, these party men are thinking, furiously, on this subject. One GOP figure whose name is mentioned with increasing frequency for the No. 2 spot is Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona. The latter state is contiguous with Nixon's home state of California. In view of the above historical examples, geography should prove no obstacle to nomination of the Senator from Arizona, in the minds of GOP politicos. As for ideology, Goldwater stands to the right of Nixon. Many in the GOP would find this an attractive "balance," despite the Californian's aversion to "ideology" as a factor.

One Washington observer, recently returned from a visit to Republicans in many states across the land, reports that sentiment in favor of Goldwater is growing rapidly. This news comes as no great surprise to Republicans in the Capital, for they know that, next to Nixon, no other Republican has a greater acquaintanceship, and remains in more constant touch, with Republican officials in the country.

As Chairman of the GOP Senatorial Campaign Committee, the Arizonan—piloting his own plane—has criss-crossed the continent many times in the past year, calling on state, county and district chairmen and committeemen and other party luminaries. He has made a host of friends among the men who will people the floor of the Republican convention; and giving public speeches wherever he goes, he has favorably impressed many of the rank and file of the party.

Kennedy in NH: Capitol Hill students of primary elections believe that Senator John F. Kennedy of Massachusetts has demonstrated, in the New Hampshire result, that he is the best vote getter among the flock of Democratic candidates, and his success in the Granite State has given his bid for the nomination no little momentum.

However, these Washington analysts say: "The outcome cannot be considered a 'smashing' conquest by Kennedy, nor anything to necessarily downgrade either Nixon's or the GOP's chances."

Nixon's total of 65,000 votes—9,000 more than Ike's 1956 New Hampshire primary total—cannot be overlooked.

As relayed to HUMAN EVENTS by telephone from Concord, the state capital, the following remarks by a veteran Republican observer on the scene deserve attention: "Some factor—whether it was Kennedy's Catholicism, or his prominence as a well-publicized figure from an adjacent state—apparently gave the Democrats a very surprising improvement over their performance in previous primaries and elections. For years the Democratic party here has not made much of a showing, due to divisions within its ranks, and to the fact that they have not had any attractive leader or candidate to rally around. Now we are wondering if some new yeast is working. But it will take a couple of weeks' close study of votes by precinct to give a reasonable verdict."

On one outcome, both Concord and Washington are agreed: Nelson Rockefeller cut a miserable figure, and the New Hampshire statistics suggest that he is going down, down, down. Despite considerable work by his partisans in preparation for this primary, the write-in

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vote for Rockefeller was only 2890, whereas the write-in GOP vote for a man who ran as a Democrat, a little known Chicago manufacturer, Paul Fisher, was 2087.

● Outside of New Hampshire, the acid remark of Governor Wesley Powell about Nixon's strategy attracted much attention. After Powell launched his "soft on communism" charge against Senator Kennedy, Nixon absolved the Massachusetts man. Then Powell tossed the following at Nixon: "The Senator [Kennedy] you defend now has straddled the Communist issue since the days of the McCarthy trial. If you and the Republican party expect to win you had better be on the attack lest the unjust attacks by Kennedy upon the Eisenhower-Nixon Administration leave the Republicans holding the bag."

On Capitol Hill, opinion as to the political wisdom of Nixon's gesture for Kennedy remains a subject of much discussion. But across the country, there is no doubt that Powell's lecture to Nixon has brought many echoes of approval from the rank and file of the GOP.

Civil Rights?: A section of the Administration's proposed civil rights bill is causing raised eyebrows on Capitol Hill. The section provides for penalties to persons who bomb or set fire to religious and educational institutions and then cross state lines to avoid prosecution by local law enforcement officials; if the bomber left the state, the FBI would move in—making the situation hazardous for racist goons.

However, by restricting the application of penalties to religious and educational buildings, the bill excludes labor goons who may use fire or explosives for their own purposes. If these labor goons can get to a friendly state, they are free.

The so-called civil rights bill gives the Federal Government the power to prosecute racist goons, but exempts labor goons. Write your Congressman and ask him to tell you: WHY?

Targets of these labor goons are invariably homes or businesses—as happened in the Kohler strike in Wisconsin, where three goons escaped to Michigan and were safe while Governor "Soapy" Williams refused to extradite them. By leaving homes and businesses out of the bill, the labor-bossed Senators are able to stay on the good side of Walter Reuther and similar union chiefs.

Capitol Camera: Despite the campaign by the National Council of Churches to discredit the Air Force manual containing charges that Communists have infiltrated the clergy, the Air Force says that 92 per cent of the 1000 letters received from all parts of the country on the matter favor the manual and support its charges. Mail received by the House Committee on Un-American Activities is also overwhelmingly for the manual.

● Democratic party chiefs took sour note last week of a poll of 101 Negro church leaders by *Jet*, a popular magazine edited and published by Negroes for Negroes. It showed 53 of the churchmen would blackball a Catholic seeking the Presidency, while 41 would not. Seven were undecided. Seventy-five per cent of the parsons, regardless of personal feelings on the subject, claimed that "there is strong opposition among Negroes to a Catholic President." In addition, 56 per cent of those opposed to a Catholic in the White House said they would speak up on the matter if one is nominated.

● Further evidence of growing conservative sentiment on the Nation's college campuses has come with the announcement that a group of conservative students are forming the New Jersey Students for Robert Morris, candidate for GOP Senatorial nomination in that state. These students oppose the big-spending policies of ADA-endorsed Senator Clifford Case, Morris' opponent, and see Morris as a true representative of Republican sentiment in the Garden State. New Jersey students attending Georgetown University and Dunbarton College in Washington, D. C., and Antioch College in Ohio, have joined the organization, which has its headquarters at 2405 37th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

Campaign Against Case: "Liberal" GOP Senator Clifford P. Case of New Jersey has met cool weather in his campaign for re-election against challenger Robert Morris. Case and the Newark *News*, as the word comes to HUMAN EVENTS, exerted heavy pressure on the chairman of the Essex County Republican organization to swing an endorsement of the incumbent Senator. The *News*, in fact, published a story to the effect that such an endorsement was forthcoming. But the county chairman stood firmly in a "hands off" position, preferring to leave the decision up to the organization's members.

Last week, the Essex County GOP followed the lead of four other counties and voted by a 32-16 margin to remain neutral in the Case-Morris contest.

It is also reliably reported to HUMAN EVENTS *that the Monmouth County Republicans, despite behind-the-scene activities for Case by Congressman James Auchincloss and former Senator H. Alexander Smith, were unable to muster enough votes to endorse Case last week, so the matter was tabled.*

Rockefeller: On the heels of Nelson Rockefeller's very small New Hampshire Presidential primary support, observers are tacking his political eclipse onto two key factors.

Uppermost is the disillusionment of New York State GOPers with Nelson's ability to work with his party—in or out of the legislature. Reported the New York *Herald Tribune* last week: "At least one high-ranking Republican county leader blames Mr. Rockefeller's troubles on egghead advisors. He noted bitterly that GOP politicos seeking an audience with the Governor invariably are shunted off to his secretary, William J. Ronan, 'who doesn't know a county leader from a college sophomore.' "

Secondly, prolonged smirks appear in the Empire State over Rocky's fixation about fallout shelters. Unable to cajole the legislature into passing a bill making shelters compulsory in private dwellings, Rockefeller has

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We hope the trickery of the Big Spenders, exposed in this sensational article by one of Philadelphia's best known newspapermen, will move you to ACTION. Action, not next week or next month, but TODAY.

Write your two Senators and your Representative. Send reprints of this article (use coupon on page 2) to 10 or 100 or 1000 persons urging them to write their Congressmen. Don't let the Congressman, in replying, get by with the Big Spenders' usual alibi: "I AM for economy; I AM opposed to Federal spending—EXCEPT when local communities simply cannot do the job without Federal aid"—etc., etc., ad nauseam.

Ask each Congressman to write you how he stands on specific measures, such as Federal aid to education, to airports, to depressed areas, for local sewage plants, for urban renewal.

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Article Section II

The Small Down Payment

How 'Pennies a Day' Can Grow into a $102 Billion Budget

By MORLEY CASSIDY

IT IS ALWAYS ENTERTAINING to watch a good magician at work, whether he is pulling rabbits or Federal grants-in-aid out of his hat. It can be instructive, too, when his sleight-of-hand falters, momentarily, and gives away the trick.

This happened in Philadelphia recently, and before the curtain could be rung down the public had had a glimpse of the gimmick—called "The Small Down Payment"—by which Federal grants-in-aid for everything from highways to Indians' false teeth have rolled up a total of $104,000,000,000 (correct: billions!) in 25 years.

The unhappy magician was William L. Rafsky, probably the best in the business.

As Philadelphia's "Development Co-ordinator," his green thumb has been making Federal money sprout in Philadelphia streets for many years. With his two team-mates, Mayor Richardson Dilworth and former Mayor (now Senator) Joseph S. Clark, his yearly "take" in Federal funds for "urban renewal" has long been the envy of most other American cities.

One item has been more than $100 million worth of low-rent public housing. Another has been a $270 million commitment of Federal funds for a new Expressway along the Delaware river. Another has been supporting Federal money for a $125 million "city-within-a-city" now being developed in Southwest Philadelphia. The total is beyond calculation.

The trick behind Rafsky's magic money-tree was revealed almost by accident when, at a budget hearing, one Councilman asked Rafsky why his Redevelopment Authority's cost estimates had suddenly jumped $51 million—from $211.7 million in 1959 to $263 million in 1960.

Magician Rafsky was embarrassed and asked to explain in private. But he was ordered to speak out, and did. The *Evening Bulletin* then reported the following colloquy:

"I will say this," said Rafsky. "There is a limited number of Federal dollars, and we like to get as much as possible.

"If we can put in applications with lower cost totals, we can get more projects in, and can get them amended for higher costs a lot easier than getting a new project qualified."

"Well then," broke in Councilman Victor E. Moore, "your suggestion to us, by inference, is that when you come forth with these programs, we should divide what you say by two and multiply by three. Is that it?"

"Without specifically commenting on the figures," said Rafsky, "the approach seems sound to me."

Philadelphia's first reaction was one of shock. The *Evening Bulletin* called the Rafsky gimmick " . . . not exactly fraud, but fakery, or at least sharp practice." It went on to say:

"If Federal money were free, it could be argued that the City had put over a fast one on New York or Chicago. But the joker is that Federal, State and local funds all come from the same source—the taxpayer's pocket."

Then, mercifully, the curtain was drawn. Even the most upright Philadelphian had to recognize, reluctantly, that this is the way Federal Aidsmanship is played.

"The Small Down Payment," as the guiding principle of Aidsmanship, is copied straight from the hard-sell of the used car lots of "Mad Man Muntz":

First comes the cheap "utility" car for nothing down and "pennies a day." Then the refinancing, with a trade-in for a flashier model with room for the mother-in-law; "after all, what you save in repairs will pay for the difference." And so on, up and up, until the buyer has a 1961 three-tone Thunder-Squall with built-in television, a bar, and separate tail-fin reservoirs for gin and vermouth. And is broke.

THE FASTEST-GROWING MONEY-TREE in Aidsmanship's Catalog of Miracles is the New Deal discovery of "grants in aid." Senator Harry F. Byrd gave Congress some chilling figures on February 4 on the growth of this weed.

"When I came to the Senate in 1933," he said, "the Federal grants-in-aid-to-States programs could be counted on the fingers of one hand, including the high-

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way and land-grant colleges programs; and Federal expenditures through them totalled only about $100 million."

He told how they grew: By 1936 there were 17 programs, spending $304 million. By 1946 there were 30 programs spending $845 million. By 1956 there were 54 programs spending $3.5 billion. Last year, 1959, there were 60 listed programs spending $6.4 billion.

But wait. Senator Byrd pointed out that there are 30 more programs through which the Federal Government makes payments to individuals within the states—NOT COUNTING most of the larger subsidy programs, such as Commodity Credit payments to farmers, or such contributory programs as Social Security and other retirement systems. These totalled $3.1 billion last year.

"In total," said Senator Byrd, "the Treasury Department lists 90 programs for payments to States, local units and individuals through which Federal expenditures of more than $9.5 billion were made in fiscal 1959. Federal payments through all of these programs over the past 25 years have totalled nearly $105 billion."

But grants-in-aid are only one group of the weeds that have sprouted in Government through the adept use of the "Small Down Payment" technique.

Take a look at all of the biggest items in the $102 billion "cash" budget for 1961 (the real record of money the Treasury will rake in and pay out). Apart from Defense, which is declining, almost all of the big items have begun small, using the hard sell for an urgent "utility" program that will cost only "pennies a day." And from there on the sky is the limit.

Look, for instance, at TVA. When Senator George Norris introduced the original act in 1933, Congress was told the total cost would be only $150 million.

To date Congress has appropriated for it $1,944 million in interest-free funds. (See "The Real Truth About TVA," HUMAN EVENTS, August 5, 1959.) The first story was that it would be only for flood control and navigation; the only power would be incidental. But power revenues, re-invested, have brought TVA's total cost to $3,750 million. "The Small Down Payment" has grown by 2,500 per cent.

LOOK AT RECLAMATION. The Hoover Commission had a word to say about the Army Engineers' use of the "Small Down Payment" gimmick.

"The original estimated cost of the 90 projects outside the Missouri Basin," it said, "was $1,580 million. In 1952 the estimated cost of completion was $3,317 million. The cost of the reclamation portion of the Missouri Valley Basin project was estimated in 1944 at $850 million. In 1953 the same work was estimated at 343 per cent more." Only a small percentage of these increases, the Commission said, was due to higher prices.

Or look at the Farm Program. The basic Act providing for parity with acreage controls began in 1939 with a "Small Down Payment." Supports would be low and flexible. Losses in the first four years were only $46 million—"just pennies a day."

Then, as usual, came the switch to "high and rigid" supports. So the cost in recent years has run around $6 billion a year, with surpluses up to $9 billion and growing.

Or, for the prize example, look at the Welfare State.

The "Small Down Payment" in 1937 was a mere "utility" jalopy, to cost only one per cent of the first $3,000 of pay. (The same amount, paid by the employer, was rarely mentioned though it had to come from the same payroll.) It might even pay for itself, its sponsors said, for it would take the "senior citizens" off the relief rolls.

Then came the standard practice of "trading up."

In 1939, before the first check was paid out, it was "obvious" that pensioners' dependents had to be taken care of, so they were written into the program. In 1940, non-working wives and widows had to be taken care of, and were.

In 1950 came the big jump to Cadillac. ("The economic assumptions of 1935," said the New York *Times*, "have no relevance for 1950.") So the law was broadened again to include more millions, give more and bigger benefits, relax the restrictions.

New "improvements" were added in 1952, 1954, 1956 *and* 1958. *So now the "Small Down Payment" has grown to take six per cent of the first* $4,800 *of everybody's pay, and the law now stipulates that it will rise to nine per cent by* 1969. *The "pennies a day" program is now collecting* $9.6 *billion a year from American payrolls, and still running a deficit. There is grave question whether it will be able to meet its future commitments without calling on the Treasury for help.*

It certainly won't be able to if The Spenders in Congress have their way. The drive is on at this session, with the Forand bill, the Kennedy bill and others, to write in a whole series of new benefits, including all costs of medical care and hospitalization for the aged. The Eisenhower Administration, prodded by Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Arthur Flemming, is toying with the idea of bringing in its own bill to steal The Spenders' fire—by lighting a fire of its own.

The cost? Why, it would be only "pennies a day": a mere one per cent of payroll, added to the nine per cent already on the books.

Even the sponsors of this new drive admit, when pressed, that this is only the "Small Down Payment." The levy would certainly have to rise steeply to keep the fund out of the red.

But that doesn't worry The Spenders. Once the "Small Down Payment" is made, they know Congress will always be willing to tack on more "pennies a day"—until there aren't any more pennies left.

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.rticle Section III

Adlai Stevenson, Neither Lion Nor Fox

By RAYMOND MOLEY
(*Contributing Editor,* Newsweek)

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI, whose name has been blackened for centuries even by those who ave profited by his wisdom, knew well what it ook to be the head of a state. "The prince," he rote, "must imitate the fox and the lion."

Neither nature nor environment has endowed dlai Stevenson with the qualities implied by ie comparison. He has so little guile that the est of all cases can be made against him by the elf-revealing things he has said from time to me. And his nature is too delicate, too kindly deal effectively with the wolves that haunt laces of great authority.

For that reason it becomes an unpleasant, ough necessary task to disagree with those ho would reward him with the Presidency or ven the Secretaryship of State.

For when we choose a man for such a task we should ask: What has been his career in detail? What have been his personal associations and interests? What are his ideas about the issues with which he must deal?

Stevenson's life story is of such stuff as phomores' dreams are made on. Material en-owment, which has never made it necessary to rn a living, education in the very "best" schools, avel, books, contacts and friendships with al-ays interesting and occasionally important ople, fame, access to the public press and plat-rm, detachment from tough decisions at a tional or international level, freedom to range perimentally in the world of the knowable and speculate in a universe of the unknowable. reams of such a life are common among the ss realistic and industrious college students.

In reading Elizabeth Stevenson Ives' memoirs, *y Brother Adlai,* I had the feeling that some udential authority should exist to save a public an from the reminiscences of an adoring sister. er account of a pleasant, sheltered childhood is not only charm but devastating historical im-rtance. Grandfather Adlai, who had been Vice resident in the 1890's, knew everybody in the emocratic party, and his roof welcomed them a era when Democrats had plenty of time to sit and a voracious appetite at a flowing board.

Grandfather was the first of the positive forces hich have moved the grandson hither and yon roughout his life. He decided that Adlai should to Choate, according to Sister, "partly be-use it would give him the solid preparation Adlai needed to get into Princeton." The boy's letters home reflect the narrow margin by which Grandfather's ambition was gratified. "In Latin," he wrote, "I have a fighting chance to pass the Cicero because I know the speeches." One of his teachers at Choate told his sister that "There was never any question he had the intelligence, but he was so interested in so many things that his studies ran second or third."

It has been noted by one biographer that Adlai was dreadfully embarrassed, but helpless, when his mother and sister took up residence at Princeton to be near him and the diversions offered there. Sister had a wonderful time. "It was the spring," she wrote, "that 'Ah, Sweet Mystery of Life' reared its silly head."

The mystery of Adlai's future was to be rudely solved when his father decreed that the son go to the Harvard Law School. Adlai apparently anticipated this, because during the Princeton period when he and his sister were enjoying a leisurely tour of Europe she wrote this to her mother:

"Ad told me a few nights ago he wanted to go to law school one year and then Oxford one year & then work on a London paper one year—if in the end he chose to join the reorganizers of the Diplomatic Corps, would Father be very mad?"

THE WORK at the Harvard Law School was in its traditional pattern of severity. To Stevenson it was "Blackstone v. Stevenson." But there were diversions. For his sister, who apparently had herself found Harvard a delightful mystery, wrote to her mother, "I'm not sure how interested he is but I suspect he feels a little guilty because he is enjoying his life in Cambridge so much—especially the week-ends."

In his second year, apparently before the final examinations, fortune offered a blessed and honorable reason for Adlai to withdraw from the case of "Blackstone v. Stevenson." An uncle died, and he returned to Bloomington to look after the estate. There he found diversion in writing editorials for the family newspaper. After two years of playing with newspaper work he attended Northwestern, took some courses, and became a lawyer.

Then, deferring his entrance into a career as a lawyer, he went to Europe and visited Russia. Finally, he entered a law firm and was kept busy doing odd jobs during the early depression years, notably salvage on farm foreclosures and urban bond issues.

With the inauguration of Roosevelt in 1933, deliverance from law was again eagerly welcomed. It came in the form of an invitation from George Peek, an acquaintance in Illinois and a Republican who had supported Roosevelt. It was in the seething atmosphere of the early New Deal as a member of a large group of young lawyers who were in the Agricultural Adjustment Administration. After a short turn there, he moved into the Federal Alcohol Administration, where he remained a few months and then returned in 1935 to the law firm in Chicago. A little law, overseeing his farm, buying and selling farm lands, civic committees and causes occupied five years. Then another Illinois friend, Frank Knox, invited him to return to Washington in 1940 to help out in the Navy Department. He left his law firm, sold some of his farm land, and for the war period served with Knox as speech writer, companion, and all-around handy-man for a busy Cabinet officer.

AFTER TWO YEARS THERE, he spent some time with the Foreign Economic Administration on some sort of mission in Italy. Then there was a War Department assignment, and after that, he was made special assistant to the new Secretary of State, Edward Stettinius, Jr. In this capacity he was press liaison officer to the United States delegation to the San Francisco Conference which set up the United Nations. After Byrnes succeeded Stettinius in the State Department, there was a period in London on United Nations preliminary organization.

Louis Kohn of Chicago became interested in having Stevenson run for Senator in 1947 and did some preliminary work, but Democratic Boss Jacob Arvey decided that Stevenson should run for Governor instead. Stevenson reluctantly agreed and was elected. While he was in his last year as Governor, a group of politicians decided to draft him for the Presidential nomination. Stevenson was again reluctant because he wanted to be Governor again. He said later that as Governor "I had little time to go around the country campaigning for an unwanted nomination for an unwanted office—an office, moreover, of such appalling difficulty and responsiblity in the year of Grace 1952, that I felt no sense of adequacy."

But he was nominated, reluctantly accepted, and ran. The rest is well known.

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Thus, the major decisions which shaped Stevenson's career until his defeat for the Presidency in 1952 were not his own. They were made by others—his grandfather, father, George Peek, Frank Knox, Boss Arvey, and the party leaders who drafted him.

In October, 1952 I recited these decisions and commented that the image that emerged was that of a dilettante and a drifter. In the midst of his busy campaign he wrote a letter to me, resenting this characterization and saying in his defense that it was two Republicans, Peek and Knox, who called him to Washington. I was then and still am unable to see the relevance of the party affiliation of these men to the fact that the many moves in that career were made in response to the determination of others. That is still my opinion.

There is little to indicate any strong intellectual influence over the shaping of the Stevenson mentality prior to his days at the Harvard Law School, unless it was a vague internationalism rooted in Wilson's fight for the League of Nations and the Harding-Cox campaign in 1920. But at Harvard in the mid-1920's there was rampant what a law professor there called "futilitarianism." This attitude toward life was far removed from the conservative Democracy of grandfather Adlai. Nothing so greatly infected many of the younger men with whom Stevenson was associated at Harvard and later in the New Deal as the off-hour wise-cracks of Mr. Justice Holmes, at his best a fine lawyer and to his young intimates a monumental cynic. In his correspondence he said, "No general proposition is worth a damn," and "I wonder if cosmically an idea is any more important than bowels."

Holmes' sorcerer's apprentices seized upon these sighs of a tired old man as eternal truth. Some, like Alger Hiss, decided that it was best to whack things to pieces and start over. Others made money in Washington law practices. Others decided to take things as they were, as a great joke. That Stevenson was powerfully affected by Holmes is shown by many quotations in his campaign speeches. But he was too gentle to be a revolutionary, and he needed no further income.

But he has used a certain facility of expression to indicate that he has taken things, including himself, casually. As time went on, his circle of political intimates have been clever rather than profound.

First there were the "not-worth-a-damn" futilitarians at Harvard and in Washington during the New Deal. Then there were the people closest to him during his service as Governor. Of these, an admiring biographer, John B. Martin, said in 1952:

"There was a good deal of intellectual horsing around . . . . There is an ebullience about them all. They wear bow ties and crew haircuts. They like to talk and argue . . . . They are the sort of men one expects to find, not in a politician's ante-room but in a club patronized by young men in the arts, sciences and professions. The Stevenson Administration has always been a rather lighthearted reform movement."

In his campaign for the Presidency these are the sort who have been around him, helping with speeches and memoranda, phrase-makers, playmates in the serious business of charting the destiny of a nation.

THERE ARE FEW COMPARISONS in American political history with this man who entered politics at the top with such fragile equipment. There have been a good many in British politics. Woodrow Wilson called one "a literary politician," but the man referred to did not aspire to office. He was a journalist.

Some British political figures conform to the proverb which speaks of "the palm without the dust." Lord Rosebery comes to mind. He was the first Prime Minister who had never served in Parliament, a child of fortune with good connections, who had not found it necessary to fight in the grime and dust of community politics. Winston Churchill in a very charitable profile of Rosebery wrote of him that he "understood the hard conditions of the lives of radical masses and was intellectually indignant at their wrongs and sufferings . . . . But to handle them, to wrestle with them, to express their passion and win their confidence he could not do."

Woodrow Wilson entered politics at the top, and for that reason Stevenson has often been compared with him. But Wilson was a man of passionate convictions, of supreme audacity, a preacher of burning missionary zeal. Also, as a historian and political scientist he was an original thinker whose writings would have won him enduring fame had he never been Governor or President. Even as a student, he wrote a thesis which still has a place in the literature of politics. Some of his early essays were prophetic.

On the other hand, we find in the Stevenson speeches only the veneer of sophistication. They screen their advocacy of a reactionary supergovernment in a mass of pleasant but obscure verbiage. They are dated because they merely present in a new dress the ideas of the New Deal with which he was associated. They suggest, moreover, a school in Seventeenth-Century France called the *Precieuses*, who were described in these words by a contemporary:

"They are firmly convinced that an idea is worth nothing when it is understood by everybody . . . a *precieuse* must not speak like the generality of people, in order that the meaning should be understood only by those who are brighter than the common people; and it is for that reason that they try to destroy the old language and have not only made up a new one, but one which is peculiar to themselves."

To entrust the Presidency to a man like that in times of peaceful foreign relations would be incongruous. In a cold war, such as faces us in the 1960's, it would be tragic.

The inexorably indelible forty years' recor stands. What Madison Avenue called the "image is clear and past revision. It is that of a ma who has not been a positive force; who neve built up or successfully operated a really im portant business; a lawyer who never disti guished himself in a noteworthy case; a casu writer who has not written an enduring book; statesman who never faced hard decisions beyon his own state, even in Congress; a lover of othe people's ideas who never produced an origina public policy; an orator who never, as did Brya LaFollette, and Wilson, fought to the end for public cause; an odd-jobs diplomat who ha never faced inimical foreign forces far fro home; and a party leader who has been conten to improvise nostrums which were designed fo a quite different society twenty-five years ago. I short, a mere participant, avoiding the rigors o creative effort, recognized only in a party whic faces great issues with small men. A browser i many fields, an authority in none.

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Vol. XVII, No. 11 HUMAN EVENTS March 17, 1960

Article Section I

Courting National Suicide

Don't Repeal the Connally Reservation

By JOHN J. SYNON

IF A PERSON of even modest patriotic sensibilities would have his backbone chilled, he should give consideration to the resolution now before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

This is the one that would strip the United States of a large measure of its sovereignty by relinquishing its right to decide which American cases should come before the World Court.

Specifically, the bill would repeal the Connally amendment to the World Court Resolution of 1946 and make of us a nation subservient to the will of 14 foreigners and one American.

It is a frightening development.

For, you see, while our Senate agreed, some 14 years ago, to our participation in the World Court, it agreed only to a point. It said we would go along on "international" matters but only on "international" matters; and those matters we considered "essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of the United States," we would continue to handle ourselves. Which seemed fair enough to everybody.

Certainly Tom Connally, Texas man of curious reasoning, was prepared to accept this foray into One-World phantasmagoria—he had gone along before. Fortunately, this time, his early-warning, spitball-detection system flashed a red light. As a consequence, the Senator suggested his now-famous amendment. Right at the end of the resolution Tom Connally added just six words: "As determined by the United States."

By this phrase Tom Connally preserved our sovereignty, retained our right to judge our own affairs and in doing so made a eunuch of the World Court. For, following the lead of the United States, other nations, thinking well of the Connally Reservation, circumscribed their membership in the court. As a result, since its inception, this regal body has been just sitting there, berobed, bewigged and befuddled, wondering how to get its hooks into the USA. This repealer, it hopes, is the answer.

If it runs the gamut and is signed into law it will be that, all right, and what was no more than an impotent appendage of the United Nations will have become the most virile thing since The Old Lady Who Lived In The Shoe.

And who do you think proposes such a monster? Who but Senator Hubert Humphrey, master of the interminable phrase, first president of the left-wing ADA, one-time Minnesota pharmacist now seeking the Brass Ring.

Which, one supposes, is to be expected from this man. But to find the President of the United States in accord is something else again. Yet, he is. Eisenhower has spoken in support of the bill. Even worse, Dick Nixon has advocated the principle involved.

Which might make a person scratch his head and wonder if black actually has become white.

Well, scratch as you will, it still comes out the same.

For this court can and does make whatever rulings its whim contrives. For it has no set of ground rules, no system of laws to follow, none whatsoever. Where would they come from?

So, by its own *ipse dixit*—as the lawyers might say—the World Court can render Off-With-Their-Heads decisions until the cows come home.

And that its full force has not been brought home to us is due to just one thing: The Connally Reservation. For, with that astute bit of statecraft on the books, this International Court of Justice, to give it its full name, can't touch us—unless we want to be touched. So far we have been masters of our own *ipse dixit,* but who knows now.

Consider the court, its makeup. It is composed of 15 justices, men from all over the globe, only three of whom—including the American member—are grounded in the common law. The rest are products of every sort of cultural and legal background, none of which, except those three governed by the common law, considers the individual paramount. To suppose their training will not reflect in their opinions is to tax a man's credulity.

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The point to this being their lack of understanding of our concept of the rights of man, of our right—for instance—to own property.

For instance, whenever those countries not governed by the common law want a man's ox or his ass or his extra pair of socks, they take his ox or his ass or his extra pair of socks, holes and all—for the greater glory of the state.

In other words, the conception of liberty, by many other nations, as it pertains to the individual, has a much narrower range than has ours. They just don't go for that rights "foolishness," not like we do—or as we have in the past.

This isn't supposition; indeed, this very attitude is reflected in another of the United Nations' creatures and for the very same reason. Take that Covenant of Human Rights (and what names they give these things). In the *Brave New World* the "liberals" were creating, the Covenant of Human Rights was to be the end-all for peoples everywhere.

Look at it. The Covenant of Human Rights makes much ado about freedom of the press. It says its subscribers believe in it. They do, that is, so long as the press doesn't print anything that would endanger the state, i.e., call the dictator a bum. Can't have that, you know. This is their idea of "freedom of the press" as the above is their idea of private ownership of property.

MR. EISENHOWER, in supporting this thing, has said we should expand "the rule of law," that other countries are as interested, have as much at stake in this as have we. And that if we take the lead, other nations that have like reservations in their court membership, will follow suit, give up their sovereignty, too. We must trust the justices, we are told.

You rattle around with that for a while. If there is something in it that doesn't ring quite true perhaps it is this: Mr. Eisenhower's appointment of the Great White Feather, the Earl of Warren, as Chief Justice of the United States, one would think, would have given the President all the object lesson he needs in trusting judges. Sure as shooting it has been object lesson enough for the rest of us.

Look at the possibilities this World Court holds—without the Connally Reservation to protect us. Suppose, let us say, Doc Humphrey gets his prescription signed into law. And suppose one of the nations we have been spoon feeding for the last 10 years (Lower Slobbovia, say) sets up a howl for more gruel and we refuse. Is that a "domestic" matter or an "international" matter? Whatever it is, without the Connally Reservation, it won't be for us to say.

And suppose Lower Slobbovia tells the World Court the United States has pledged itself to full employment and full bellies and all that stuff, all over the world, which it has. And suppose it tells the court that while the amount of gruel it has been swilling—while sufficient when it was in swaddling clothes—is sufficient no longer for it is a big boy now, thank you, and needs a larger helping, else its budget will go unbalanced.

Well, yes, it realizes the United States is now nearly $300 billion in debt and hasn't had a genuinely-balanced Budget since God knows when. But this is The International Court of Justice, isn't it, and all Lower Slobbovia seeks is international justice; America should be forced to fulfill its contract, its promise to glut bellies and keep people at work, all over the world.

What then? Who is to say we won't go for any such jazz? Who? Not us, for we won't be able to, having foregone that right by repeal of the Connally Reservation.

And what do you think would be the decision with 14 of the 15 justices from countries which are recipients of our largesse?

Repeal the Connally Reservation and trust foreign judges? We might as well rely on The Court of Miracles.

A person cannot assume even such a man as Humphrey would knowingly work against the best interests of his country—much less can a person impugn the motives of the President and Vice President.

Even so, one can be forgiven a pious hope Pharmacist Humphrey, one day real soon, will whip up a large, economy-size batch of smart pills and feed them to himself and to his cohorts, on the hour, every hour, until this madness passes. Either that or bring old Tom Connally back.

Political analyst John Synon is a frequent contributor to HUMAN EVENTS. His most recent article was "Where Is The Money Coming from?" March 3, 1960.

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ordered an architect to design shelters for the New York City cooperative apartment house he is building, his Tarrytown home, and the Executive Mansion.

Now dubbed "The Mole" by political punsters, Nelson recently remarked that some of his children had seen the ban-the-bomb movie "On The Beach" (HUMAN EVENTS, December 30). The young people, he said, came away with the defeatist feeling of "what's the use?"

Some political observers now see the shelter issue as the *coup de grace* which finishes Nelson as a Presidential possibility. They may be premature, but they reason: "How could a man preoccupied with tunneling to safety under the ground create the necessary image of a leader set to get tough with the Russians at the summit?"

Decline and Fall of "Soapy": When Governor "Soapy" Williams on March 3 announced that he will not run again—that his 12-year reign as Governor of Michigan has ended—amazed politicos of both parties privately pondered what they deem an event of major importance (about which the big "liberal" metropolitan press remains discreetly silent). Until rather recently "Soapy" rated as one of the big "liberal" figures in the Democratic party. He was boomed for the Presidential nomination. Today, anyone in Michigan will tell you that "Soapy" is as politically dead as the proverbial herring and will be lucky if he gets an ambassadorship to Ghana should the Democrats win next fall. At only 49 years of age, this spectacular "liberal" Democrat, puppet of Walter Reuther, has been politically destroyed. Republicans rejoice, Democrats mourn.

Inside information from Detroit to HUMAN EVENTS *reveals the immediate cause which led "Soapy" to announce his demise. A poll, completed over two weeks ago but only released to the press a few days ago in the Detroit* News, *showed that if Reuther's Boy were running today for re-election against his* 1958 *opponent (Republican Paul Bagwell), he would be defeated. "Soapy," a fortnight ago, had private access to these mournful figures, took thought and signed off.*

The open admission of "Soapy's" fall from power followed a sharp decline. It is now conceded by Detroit Democrats that the Governor's poor showing in his re-election in 1958—running fifth on his ticket and getting in by a noticeably reduced margin—corresponded with the downward curve of what all Wolverines now recognize as the "worsening business climate." And the business climate was expressed in unemployment.

The descent had started well before the 1958 recession, and the man in the street gradually came to understand it. "Soapy" and his high-tax, welfare spending administration had been discouraging business firms from coming into Michigan, driving many out of Michigan. HUMAN EVENTS takes some credit for presenting that picture in its article (October 13, 1958), "Walter's Boy Soapy: Labor Socialism in Michigan," by Frank C. Hanighen, reprints of which attained wide distribution. The piece was prophetic, not the least in its warning of national implications: "This is Governor Williams' Michigan. This is Walter Reuther's Michigan. This is the pattern hammered out for transfer to the national scene."

More recently, another "let's look at the record" document played no small role in finishing "Soapy." Professor Dwight B. Yntema of Hope College (Michigan) filed a widely-studied report to the Michigan Senate Tax Study Committee. A summary of its findings, covering Michigan and seven other industrial states, ran as follows:

"State and local taxes on business in other states amount commonly to some 50 per cent of such taxes in Michigan." In one state, Illinois, business taxes are one-third of Michigan's.

According to all reports, many workers and businessmen in the Wolverine state found this report authoritative confirmation of what they knew personally of the lethal effects of the "Soapy" Williams-Walter Reuther regime of state socialism.

Dark Horse: Although he is now Senator Kennedy's foreign policy advisor (and reportedly Jack's new Secretary of State choice in view of recent Kennedy-Stevenson coolness), Connecticut Representative Chester Bowles receives growing attention as a "dark horse" possibility should Democrats deadlock at Los Angeles.

Bowles is highly regarded by the "liberal" intelligentsia, has received the *New Republic's* Presidential endorsement (in a unique—for them—front page January editorial) and is increasingly talked up by "liberal" pundits as a dynamic statesman with the "Presidential image."

Not a few observers see Bowles' chances as excellent should a Kennedy blitz fail, with a combination of New Englanders, "liberals," and defecting Humphrey and Stevenson supporters backing the Nutmeg State public relations tycoon.

Foreign Aid: While the President calls for an increase in American foreign aid to defeat communism, one recipient, Guinea, has recognized the East German regime. The recognition by Guinea, the first non-Communist country to establish full diplomatic relations with the Russian-occupied territory of East Germany, is a definite diplomatic victory for the Communists, coming just two months before the summit meeting.

Russia, it is known, has been panting for Western recognition of East Germany, knowing that if the West does this, the chances for a united Germany as guaranteed by the Potsdam agreement would be virtually nil. The action by Guinea, whose industrial growth has been aided by $72 million of US funds, should be a sharp reminder to Congress that foreign aid *per se* is not necessarily the most effective way to prevent communism.

Labor Front: Shenanigans in Sheboygan County, Wisconsin, are letting a United Auto Workers goon go scot-

T. M. GIRDLER, former chairman of the board, Republic Steel Corp.: "I look forward to reading HUMAN EVENTS each week. I feel that it fills an important need—the need to alert Americans to many dangerous conditions that exist in our Country today and which we might not be aware of otherwise. You help keep us awake. Moreover, I believe that your bulletins have helped a great deal to change the thinking of many people in positions of responsibility, particularly in the educational field."

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free for beating a non-striking Kohler worker who later died from his injuries.

Sheboygan County district attorney David Weber, who had previously joined Walter Reuther's UAW defense attorneys in pleas for mercy on behalf of two other goons charged with the same crime, last week failed to seek extradition of the third from Michigan within the time limit set by law. William Vinson, charged with felonious assault on the Kohler worker, went free.

Weber's highly unusual clemency pleas in the two previous trials were denied by the judges. The district attorney would not say why he waited through the 60-day period allowed by Michigan to complete extradition requests; he finally sent the request too late to reach Michigan in time.

The key to this strange conduct? Weber was elected with union support, and many who have followed the Kohler strike and know the long arm of the UAW, are not surprised at the prosecutor's eagerness to prove he is labor's lackey and not a public servant.

Socialized Hypochondria: The House Ways and Means Committee is conducting hearings this week on a bill that could pave the way for an outbreak of what has become known in New Zealand as "socialized hypochondria." Under the socialized medicine program in that "down under" country, an ever-growing number of New Zealanders visit a physician at the slightest sign of a pain or pimple, pick up a prescription, then dash off to the nearest pharmaceutical house where "free" pills, ointments and nose drops are dispensed. (Pharmacists are reimbursed by the Government for the cost of medicine they hand out. The Government in turn reimburses itself by taxing the people—the so-called beneficiaries of the "free" medical program.) According to a recent dispatch in the New York *Times*, New Zealand officials are alarmed at the rising cost of the "free" program, which continually surpasses all budgetary estimates.

The bill now before the House committee is H. R. 4700, a multi-million dollar scheme introduced by Representative Aime J. Forand (D.-R.I.) to provide Government hospitalization, surgical and nursing services to some 13 million social security recipients—and several million others. (While the contents of this measure cannot be labeled as similar to the New Zealand socialized medicine program, many observers feel that they represent a big first step in that direction.) The Forand bill is primarily aimed at "benefiting" persons now receiving old age, survivor or dependent's checks. But it would also encompass two million additional aged people who do not receive Government payments (because they are still self-supporting), as well as dependents of those now obtaining a social security disability income.

The Department of Health, Education and Welfare has estimated first-year costs of the Forand bill at approximately $1.1 billion. Old hands in the Capital point out, however, that past Government predictions of proposed welfare spending have invaribly fallen far short of actual costs (see "The Small Down Payment," by Morley Cassidy, in Article Section II). Insurance experts say the Forand program would cost over $2 billion the first year.

Last week the National Association of Manufacturers, while calling economic security for the aged "a laudable objective," scored the Forand measure as "inflationary" and recommended voluntary private enterprise health insurance as the best solution to the problem.

Abhorring the Government invasion of the medical field that the Forand bill would bring, the American Medical Association recently observed: "To bureaucratize medical care by funneling its services through the social security system would supply a 'cure' that would be worse than the disease in its ultimate effects on individual freedom and a free society."

Passports: Remarks by Senator J. William Fulbright (D.-Ark.) carried somewhat of a hollow ring last week when he challenged the President to tell the American people "what they must do, at whatever cost, to survive or even to bring about a state of high security." For it is Fulbright, as Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, who has been sitting on proposed passport legislation that would help cure one of our most serious security breaches. The gap was created two years ago when the Supreme Court struck down the State Department's right to deny passports to persons who might prejudice American foreign relations while abroad.

Within ten months after the Court's decision, some 1150 individuals, whose passports normally would have been held up for inquiry into their Communist affiliations, received them without question. Many of them subsequently spread anti-American propaganda abroad.

The High Court decision so impaired America's security that both President Eisenhower and then Secretary of State John Foster Dulles called for immediate legislation to plug this leak in the security dike.

Nevertheless, no corrective passport legislation has been reported out of Senator Fulbright's committee. He is still sitting on Senator Alexander Wiley's bill, which the Administration feels goes a long way toward correcting the situation. Fulbright's own bill is so ineffective that John Hanes, Administrator of Security and Consular Affairs, stated he "would rather have no bill" than one which resembles Fulbright's.

Fulbright's actions have been so vacillating that Senator Karl Mundt purposely arranged for his own passport bill, which many consider to be the best legislation on the subject, to be sent to the Government Operations Committee, so it would not expire in Fulbright's committee.

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